

* 539 /116 cont./

* 539 that you can go to your land, to the east." And Yepá Huáke
 • 823 performed a miracle so that the land would appear, because
 before this there had not been any land either. And on this land
Yepá Huáke made the trees. And afterwards Yepá Huáke per-
 formed another miracle, and that land went down under this
 world. And that is why under this land there is a river that is
 called Uamedia. And Yepá Huáke performed another miracle
 so that the land on which we live would appear. And Yepá
Huáke said to the Alemán: "Have your city underneath the land,
 on the second land, like a kind of tunnel, just as there are cafés
 in Bogotá and stores in Bogotá."

Then Yepá Huáke left Diaoipekowf to smoke tobacco, and
 when he had smoked the tobacco, he blew. And Yepá Huáke
 smoked tobacco, blew to the north, to the south, to the east,
 and to the west, and the land appeared for all the world. And
 upon this land appeared all of nature. Then Yepá Huáke made
 the seas, and he surrounded the land of all the world with these
 seas. Then Yepá Huáke made another sea that formed the Vaupés,
 Negro, and Amazon rivers. Yepá Huáke left Diaoipekowf.

* 539 A large boat appeared in Diaoipekowf, and this boat was a
gũso. And first Yúpuri Bauro went aboard this boat, and second
Siópuri Uejké went aboard, and the Alemán was located to the
 east. And there they separated. Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Bauro
 arrived at Diatabujtiwf, a maloca of white straw. They went in
 and went out again, looking at the lands. They boarded the boat
 of the gũso again and continued going up the rivers. They ar-
 rived at DiamaJamirawf. Siópuri Uejké and Yúpuri Bauro went
 up to the sky again. Yúpuri Bauro found a special stick that sounds
 like a bell, /117/ and the Tucano still have sticks like that. And
 that stick was for measuring time, to see where the country of
Ereya was. They came down from the sky to DiamaJamirawf
 again. They went aboard the boat of the gũso again and con-
 tinued going up the rivers. And they arrived at Diatumurawf.
 They arrived there and landed and entered and were there a short
 while only looking at the maloca. They left Diatumurawf and

/116 cont./

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- 14th. -- Simyō pēru pōnā (caxirí of uacú /Monopterix uaucú, Spruce/), in Teresita (Papuri) and Itapinima (Uaupés)

/117/

- 15th. -- Yaxpé putinā (?) or yai buxtinā (white onça /jaguar/), in S. Antônio (Tiquié)
 16th. -- Búyaka pōnā (sumaúma /tree/), on the river Papuri
 17th. -- Teáburu pōnā (a fruit), in Floresta (Tiquié)
 18th. -- Mahāñana pōnā (an edible caterpillar), on the river Papuri
 19th. -- Mōneā pōna (carapanā /large, long-legged gnat/), in Umarí-igarapé (50)

50. Would it perhaps be the Karapanā tribe, which they consider more intimately connected with the Desana? Actually a Karapanā group exists on the headwaters of the stream Uamarí or Umarí-igarapé.

- 20th. -- Minumú pōnā (swallow), on the headwaters of the Papuri
 21st. -- Mixpínya pōnā (açaí /assai palm/), in Turí-igarapé and Montfort (Papuri)
 22nd. -- Way-goberi pōnā (canal with fish) (51),

• [823]

51. The natives affirm that there is a subterranean canal between the Papuri and the Tiquié, through which, says the legend, the first fish moved to the Tiquié.

in Piracuára and Montfort (Papuri)

- 23rd. -- Kúperi pōnā (?), in Tucunaré (Papuri); only one woman survives, mother of Sabino Paíva from Iuquira (Uaupés)
 24th. -- Poetēna or Po'yaxtēna (a plant), in Po-yá igarapé
 25th. -- Óiwa ánikma (bat), on the river Papuri; they are the pariahs.

[554]

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/255 cont./

/footnote 7 cont./ had gone about four hundred meters, a characteristic cry, which seemed to us more like the chirping of some bird, was heard. The Tucano who came along with us as oarsmen interpreted at once: "It is the tuxaua who is calling in order to return the machete." Truly the tuxaua was waiting for us with the machete, which was returned to its legitimate owner.

On several occasions, as we navigated the headwaters of the rivers or the igarapés, Indians who were in the interior of the forest and heard the noise of the oars exchanged whistles with our oarsmen, who afterwards would give us detailed information: who they were, if they were hunting, picking fruits, looking for caraná, or cutting lumber. It is to be noted that we never heard the Indian humming his songs or whistling for mere diversion.

[533]

/256/ 2. Sciences.

a) Geography -- Topography.

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Their geographic notions of the region are not very numerous, but they are accurate. It is difficult to distinguish what they know through individual experience, through tribal tradition, or through the influence of the civilized whom they consult, because, endowed with an excellent memory, they retain the information that they receive, like that which they learn visually.

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They admit a legendary origin of many cachoeiras, rivers, streams, islands, canals, stones, mountains, forests, etc. As an example: for the ancients a legendary stone of the cachoeira of Uaracapá (river Papurí) was a banana tree, although it did not resemble such a plant in any way. In a stone called precisely Cabeça-de-anta /Head-of-tapir/ (cachoeira of Tapira-jirau, upper Uaupés) the natives see the snout of an anta and one of their legends explains its origin. They assert that from Piracuara, on the river Papurí, comes a subterranean canal that connects this river to the Tiquié, a little above the cachoeira of Pari. The legends say that it was through this canal that the first fish passed from the former river to the latter one. What is observed at that point of the Tiquié is a deep place where a small jet of waters of infiltration flows, as also happens in other places and rivers (cf. III, Note 17).

Their topographic memory is commendable; they not only identify by name the povoados and malocas that they pass, but also the rivers, igarapés, points, etc. Even more, they know how many turns and points of the rivers are to come before one arrives at a certain place. It seems, however, that this concept of turn (mahamlé), stretch (kusá), or point (ñdã) is different from ours, or, who knows, might be somewhat subjective. We verified many times that they did not correspond to the number that they indicated to us, a mistake perhaps attributable to their lack of knowledge of mathematics.

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As for the sharp sense of direction of the natives in the forest, or their topographic sense, which has been praised so much, it seems to be the fruit of poetic imagination, if it is generalized for the tribes of the Caiarí. They know very well the rivers and forests that they frequent; however, they do not risk going very far into the forest. They tell of various episodes in which they were lost in the forest. And, in order for this not to happen, they avail themselves of the expedient of breaking branches, all in the same direction, as they draw away from the usual paths. The Makú live in the interior of the forests, are hunters, and therefore orient themselves better. It is to be pointed out, however, that they are seminomadic and always travel in groups.

[171]

b) Mathematics.

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The natives have different names for the first five numbers and distinguish the masculine, feminine, and neuter (thing), to wit:

Number	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	niká, nikô	nikô	niká
2	pôara, pôana	pôara, pôana	pôá, póaro
3	i'tyára, i'tyána	i'tyára, i'tyána	i'tyá, i'tyáro
4	ba'pári-tira	ba'pári-tira	ba'pári-tise
(Uaupés)	bapári-tina	ba'pári-tina	
5	niká-múkôra	niká-múkôra	niká-múkôse
(Uaupés)	niká-múkôna	niká-múkôna	

It should be noted that Niká-múkôra, properly speaking, means one hand. And ordinarily they prefer to indicate the number of fingers (2, 3, etc.) rather than pronounce the numbers. From five on, all of them, practically, are content to show the corresponding number of fingers. The more intelligent ones know how to count up to twenty, using the fingers of the hands and the toes. They no longer know how to count numbers higher than twenty.

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Properly speaking they do not have measures of extension or length. They speak of sêērô (sêēnô), nikáti sêērô, the breadth of the arm span or the two open arms, pôáti sêērô, two arm-spans, etc.; a step, yerarô, nikáti yerarô, one step; a handspan, wamû-ka keorô or wamû-pama-keorô, niká pama, one handspan, pôá wamû-ka-keorô, two handspans, ba'páritise wamû-ka-peosé, four handspans.

/257 cont./

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As a practical means for their calculations, they will even make a small stick the size of an arm span or a handspan; they are, nevertheless, individual and casual measurements.

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The arithmetic tables already constitute a serious difficulty for the school children, in spite of being a mere question of memory. Those of better progress do not manage to perform the four operations after /258/ three or four years of attending school. And one notices in all great difficulty in solving the simplest problem in mathematics.

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It seems that it is equally difficult for them to estimate time, as well as distance and area; thus, they are apt to answer that the length of a room is three kilometers and the course of a river, one hundred meters.

c) Astronomy -- Cosmography.

1) The world.

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According to their conceptions, the earth, Dí'tá, is a plain covered by a regular and solid spherical calotte, which is called Ō'mā-se (high thing), the sky, with four doors /Port. portas, doors, gates/ corresponding to the four cardinal points, through which the waters of the rivers escape. If these doors were to be closed, the waters would flood the lands and drown all humanity. (Cf. the Legend of the snake Sē, p.)

[821]

They differentiate the clouds into oxkó-kururí, the nimbi, and o'mē-kururí, cirri.

They call the cardinal points "porta" /door, gate/, Soxpé, and designate them as follows: East, Síro-ká-soxpé (back door); West, Pó'té-ká-soxpé (front door, to wit, of the river); South, Kū'pé-ká-soxpé (left door, from which the Uaupés rises); North, Dyakó-ká-soxpé (right door).

2) Heavenly bodies and stars.

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They do not know how to explain how the stars, Yōxkōá, were formed. All the constellations, however, have a legendary origin. They even assert that the sun, the moon, and the stars are people, Maxá, according to their legends. As confirmation, it is to be

4: Silva--473 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 321 in the original source/

Burial in the canoe
(juxkō-sō-koro)



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Itacoatiara (rupestrian
inscription) in Carurú-
cachoeira (river Tiquié)

Mandú, the
Ipeka tuxaua
from Urubu-
cuara (Uaupés
R.) and his son
beside the
hole from
which the
tribes arose
(cf. Lendas do
Uaupés). The
mound in the
background
(left) is sup-
posed to have
resulted from
the spit of
WAX-tf.



/334 cont. /

77/

e) Cult practices.

1) Local cult (litobolia).

There are no temples, that is, buildings solely dedicated to the deity, where the religious functions are performed. Nor has it been reported that there is any private cult or individual worship of the deity, ceremonies, prayers, unless as cult one understands some practices that seem to us magical, such as litobolia.

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They treat some places with respect and fear; this is tabooism. One does not see there, however, manifestations of cult, individual or social. Such are, for example, some cachoeiras and stones. And about them, in general, they tell interesting legends. They do not allow stones to be taken from such cachoeiras (35).

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35. The Bishop Dom José Domitrovitch thought of dynamiting the cachoeira of Parí-cachoeira, in order to facilitate navigation. The local population became agitated, and the tuxaua Julio came to advise him not to do it, because otherwise fevers and sickness would come. The Bishop judged it more expedient not to go against the opinion of the Indians. Brother Mateo (of the Congregation of Montfort), at one of these rocks of the cachoeira of the thunder, Bũxpó-pweá, of the Igarapé Culú-culú, tributary of the Papurí, removed a fine splinter, in order to extract a little honey. One of the Indians warned him that he should not do that, because "lightning will strike." And, to his great surprise, lightning did strike at some distance, when absolutely nothing indicated it; it was really "un fulmine a ciel sereno" /a bolt of lightning in a clear sky/. They

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/footnote 35 cont./ explain the outbreak of malaria that in 1931-2 decimated the population of Taracua-ponta, river Uaupés, as the consequence of having taken a stone from the cachoeira of the beijú, Ahũ-gã-pweá, actually located some hundreds of kilometers away, on the river Papurí.

[227] asserting that, if someone were to try it, lightning would strike
[501] him. It is on some of these rocks that they go to finish the making of their canoe, or the preparation of their nets and fishing gear (36).

36. There is one of these rocks near the povoado of Parí-cachoeira, river Tiquié.

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/335/ Near the "igarapé of the caterpillar," píxkõ-rõ-ya, headwaters of the Culu-cuiú, tributary of the Papurí, there is a rock that a woman should not see; if she looks at this rock, she will never have children. And when they go by this place, the women and maidens turn their faces to the other side. Fish from this and from some other igarapés cannot be eaten; if somebody were to do it, he would suffer from toothache.

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7 In Jabuti-cachoeira, on the river Tiquié, there is a rock called nõ'mya-ga (rock of the women, or rock woman?) with a groove that looks like a vulva to the natives. When the young men go by there, they throw a piece of beijú, a lemon, or some other fruit at it from their canoe. It is what they call doxké-sã-i'ĩsé, that is, they throw to hit the mark. Because, they explain, if the object thrown remains in the groove, they will soon have wives. This rock, for them, is very precious. They also think that, by rubbing the hand over it, later they will easily learn any trade.

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They likewise believe that the taking of a bath, be it men or women, in the pothole of Tôpa-duri, that is, of the cachoeira of Urubucuará, where the tribes came out (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"), would guarantee them an early marriage.

It does not seem, then, that these caves, rocks, igarapés, interiors of the forest should be regarded as sacred spots of the cult. Rather, on the contrary, they would be "tabooed" places and objects. Nor would the fruits and rocks that are thrown be a form of cult, that called litobolia. Rather they seem to us to be manifestations of magic and tabooism.

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An old Missionary stated that some Indians, while going by those rocks that bear crude figures (37)

37. These are the petroglyphic signs or rupestrian inscriptions common on the rivers of Amazonas, especially the Rio Negro and its tributaries. A diligent study of these inscriptions was done by B. A. da Silva Ramos, under the title "Inscrições e Tradições da América Pré-histórica /Inscriptions and Traditions of Prehistoric America/," -- Imprensa Oficial, Rio de Janeiro, 1930. We do not find engraved anthropomorphic representations. Koch G. 50 years ago saw sculptures of "attractive figures," anthropomorphic ones, among the Kubewana and Wanana (cf. Note 49, VII-3, b (8) /see Note 50, VII-3, b (2)/). We discovered only one, as human heads on the supports of a troceno /signal drum/. They did not look like idols, however, but only decorations and were of recent fabrication (1947).

of animals or of strange beings, with long and skeletal arms and

/335 cont./

legs (38).

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38. One of these drawings is seen on a rock of the Carurú-cachoeira, river Tiquié, a little above Parí-cachoeira.

prodigious belly, enormous head, would look with dread and say in a low voice: Wĭx-tĭ. As if these representations were a perpetuation, in granite, of the memory of the terrible and feared monster. We have never witnessed any of these demonstrations of fear. Sometimes we have approached such petroglyphs and summoned near /336/ some Indians, and they have always appeared indifferent to such drawings. Moreover, we have found similar figures on the bark walls of huts and malocas, and, moreover, we have seen children draw them on the ground with a stick, and, therefore, without any semblance of religiousness.

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It can, then, be affirmed that there is no indication of an individual cult. There is, nevertheless, a social cult to be discussed, which is realized in the maloca and its immediate surroundings. There are principally three manifestations of this social cult: the offering of the first fruits or dabacurfs, the puberty initiation, and the funeral. All three of which a spiritual communion, tightening the solidarity of the group.

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2) Religious feasts with offering of the first fruits.

Their Poosé are religious feasts, in our opinion (39).

39. An opinion that we have expressed since 1947 and that recently (1954) we verified to be also that of Koch Grünberg, who (Z. I. 372, and passim) distinguishes, moreover, religious dances and profane dances. Koch, nevertheless, accepts the translation demonio /demon/ for Wĭx-tĭ, and even for other personages of the native legends.

and were called by the first explorers, with a term from the Língua

/356 cont./

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c) Conclusions: What to think of Wāx-tī and of Wā:kō?

In asking the Indians of the present young or adult generation who Wāx-tī is, they will answer at once: -- "He is the demon!" -- They will tell us about his appearances and tremendous feats, as we reported above. They will add ancestral traditions, and the laws given by him, which constitute the customs of the tribe and cannot be violated, in order not to irritate his spirit, which still survives, and incur his punishments.

[178]

On the other hand, these same Indians will say that Wā:kō is "God." But the old ones (and some old men present whom we were able to become acquainted with and listen to) know nothing about him, they neither think nor talk about Wā:kō.

There is in these tribes a religion or cult of the spirits. They are, then, animists. There are many spirits, a true legion of them. "Wāx-tī maxsā" (Wāx-tī people) is an expression that we hear. There is Wāx-tī of this cachoeira, of that cave, of this igarapé. They admit wai maxsā, fish people (67),

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67. There are caves near Piracuara (river Papurí, Colombia), and the natives are afraid of going in there, because of the wai maxsā.

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as if they were mermaids or spirits who live /357/ in the water.

There are some spirits who have been incarnated, and others, not. They indeed assert that the dead person is transformed into Wāx-tī. And they greatly fear the Wāx-tī of the pajés, of inimical persons, and also of the civilized (because they regard them likewise as inimical, and, perhaps, the greatest enemy (see note 54, VII 4, e (2, a, 3)). For this reason they are afraid to sleep where some civilized was buried, out of fear of his spirit, or of his Wāx-tī.

[825]

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*[192]

They say about a nocturnal bird, called uruká-tutú, due to the similarity to its chirp, that one should not imitate its chirp, because it will come, throw a stone, and do harm to the one who imitated it. This bird, according to their beliefs, is the soul of a deceased civilized person, pexká-sā wē'ri Wā-tī. There are good and bad spirits.

/361 cont./

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b) Tamanduaí is a locality situated on the bank of the Rio Negro, in an elevated position, with the bank forming a barrier or slope. They affirm that in the vicinity of this point, but deep in the water, is located the city of the wai maxsá.

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They tell that, a few years ago, a woman lived on the bank opposite Tamanduaí. Soon after delivery, against the traditional prescriptions, she cooked and ate cará /yams, Dioscorea/. Later, upon going to the landing place, she saw there a young man, who asked her: -- Why are you there? -- I want to go away, the woman said to him, because my husband is very rough and often hits me. -- Come with me, the man invited her. And he took her into the water. There, in the depths, she saw that there was a large city with pretty houses, factories of thirst (1) /Port. fábricas de sede/, and also gardens and forest. She stayed there, living with this young man. On a certain day, she told him: -- I am longing for my son, I am going to get him. The young man took her out of the water. She was covered with algae. She washed herself well, went to her own house, prepared milk (1) for the son. Then the husband asked her: -- Where have you been all this time? It has been a week since you went away. She, however, did not answer him. On the following day she took her child and went to the landing place, went into the river, and did not return again. She remained as wife of the young wai maxsá man.

c) We further heard another episode told about Tamanduaí.

A young man from the Uaupés, settled in Tamanduaí (and there are many who, /362/ searching for better lands, leave the Uaupés and go to settle in this region of the Rio Negro), left one day to go fishing. He was going down along a large beach. At a certain moment he saw, at the edge of the nearby forest, a very pretty hammock, and, sitting in the hammock, a blonde girl, very beautiful, with a child in her arms and singing in order to put the child to sleep. The youth paid attention to the harmonious song and could hear that is said: -- "I am

776 /362 cont./

539 going away to my land, it is so beautiful... nothing is lacking
 • 823 there"...., etc. He looked closely and saw that the cords of the
 hammock were sucurujú /anaconda/. At night the blonde girl
 appeared to him in a dream and told him: -- "Today I sang for
 you, and it did not please you."

776 d) Near Bela-Vista, on the river Uaupés, an alumna of
 787 the Mission of Taracua dreamed at night that she had amorous
 relations with a young man. Then in the morning, when she
 went to take a bath, she saw close to her a blowing bouto, throw-
 ing itself about in the water, agitating it, and wanting to have
 relations with her. The young woman also heard shots under the
 ground, smelled the perfume that the "bouto" youths use. She
 even felt a desire to go to live with the boutos forever.

776 5. /sic/: e/ -- Patrícia Vasconcelos tells that her grand-
 mother was still a young woman when she went looking for turtle
 [115] eggs on a beach near Pinu-pinu (river Uaupés) with other girl
 [222] companions, among them one who had just finished the puberty
 initiation rite. They started to dig in the sand and found many
 eggs. At a certain point, however, the sand started to sink with
 a great noise, and the newly initiated girl disappeared. A little
 later the sand reappeared. The mother of the maiden who had
 disappeared went to look for her, shouted everywhere, but the
 maiden never returned. The poor mother then understood that
 the waf maxsã had stolen her daughter: "waf maxsã mba-wapã
 * [192] yõõ maxkõ-rẽ, the fish people came to get my daughter."

2) Magic practices.

823 a) Places. -- There are places (the most remote parts of
 the forests, caves, headwaters of the igarapés) where they should
 never go. If by chance they pass in the vicinity of these places,
 they will turn their faces to the opposite side.

There is a lake below the Ira-Igarapé (middle Uaupés); the
 old ones did not look at it, in order not to have a weak and
 whining child.

/362 cont./

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In Ira-igarapé there are some potholes in the water. When an individual dives into these potholes, if he is lazy, he will then hear claps of thunder and feel an electric shock (the resounding of the waters in the concavity? shocks from the electric eel?). If he is not lazy, nothing happens to him.

[784]

Three flat rocks arranged in a triangle are to be seen near Jandiá (left bank of the river Papurí). The women /363/ must not look at these rocks, so that their children will not be born with a flat head.

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One must not step in the track of the onça /jaguar/, because, without being seen, he will come after the one who did it.

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There is a high rock on the left bank of the river Papurí, near the mouth of the stream Culú-culú, called Bará ðxtã. If a young woman goes up onto that rock, and some young man, passing there, looks at the young woman, he will feel attracted and will end up joining her. This attraction, however, disappears if the young man immediately puts in his eyes drops of the infusion of the cipo called yõx'kwã-dã (star cipo).

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Below the "island of the culubí," in the cachoeira of the Bacaba (river Uaupés), in the place called Γá-ñõá (point of the louse), there is a rock called muhi-pñ ðxtã (rock of the sun or of the moon). Those who navigate the river, when they pass there, deposit dried fish, beijú, banana, or other fruit. According to the Wanana Tomás Paiva, the offerer, upon leaving his offering, presents the following supplication: "My grandfather, make it so that the day will be good, will not be hot, will not have banzeiro (agitation of the waters by the winds).

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There are various processes of casting malefices (dohasé) in the road or in the clearing:

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1st. -- They bend some stick by the road where the disliked individual must pass, and they "blow" on the stick; it is the yuxkõ dohó-kõ; the malefice will reach the person merely passing there.

CUBEO

THE CUBEO COMMUNITY

31

secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourard provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihl*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this gaffe. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

chicken feed. The *Bahukwa*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

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the men who are drawn into the sibling group. The position of a girl resident in an alien sib depends upon whether she has a brother. If she has a brother, his associates, who regard him in a brotherly way, will probably respect his sister as one of their own. If she has no brothers in the community she has still to overcome the reluctance of men to take a wife from nearby. This, too, is no minor obstacle, since an orthodox marriage must ceremonialize the tearing away of a woman from her own community.

THE COMMUNITY OF THE RIVER

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The river forms a wider community of related sibs. With some exceptions the sibs have aligned themselves along a river on the basis of degree of closeness and of rank. Sibs that have segmented from a parental sib ordinarily occupy an adjacent site. The river is the most important territory. It is a highway and a link between related sibs, the source of ancestral power, and the economic zone of the men, fish being the main source of animal protein. Even most land animals are hunted along the river banks.

• (823)
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The orientation of the Cubeo is toward the river and not toward the forest. Whereas the forest is undifferentiated terrain, the rivers are known to every turn and outcrop of rock or other feature. The river is the source of the ancestral powers, of benefits as well as of dangers. The forest is a source mainly of dangers. The river is literally and symbolically a binding thread for the people. It is a source of emergence and the path along which the ancestors had traveled. It contains in its place names genealogical as well as mythological references, the latter at the petroglyphs in particular. For these reasons of sentiment and of symbolic association as well as because of the clear economic value of the river — hunting as well as fishing — the Cubeo have cause to feel that those living along the same river should be people of common descent and, therefore, of common exogamic grouping. It is not accident but strong intent that has grouped the phratries along the same river. Those who join a river will accept membership in a phratry. On the other hand, it is accident that has interrupted the sib homogeneity of the rivers. The *Hürüd* sib is an intruder on the Cuduiari River and belongs more properly on the Querari. It is now the only large alien group on the river. Since it is an established affinal sib it cannot be incorporated into the Cuduiari phratry as were the apparently alien *Bahikima*. But the *Hürüd* are drawn into the round of drinking parties and so have slid into what is a pattern of intraphratry activity. Here again we have an example

501 against the gunwale to set the rhythm. Frequent changes of stroke
516 are common. In pulling away, the first stroke is slow and strong. This
is followed by a brief pause, the blade just out of the water, the stem
resting against the gunwale. The helmsman, who steers with a
broader-bladed paddle, uses powerful slow strokes that are one to
two or three to those of the prowsman. When inertia has been over-
come the stroke is accelerated, often to a furious tempo. The oars-
man's back bends lower and his stroke is sharp, fast, and shallow. A
fast beat is not kept up for long. The paddlers rest, permitting the
canoe to continue on its own momentum. Unless exhausted from a
long trip the mood of men in a canoe is gay. They burst into spon-
taneous shouts of *he ee ee*, sing, and joke loudly. Each passing bird is
addressed, as "Where are you going?" With the paddle held as a gun
they aim at the bird, pretend to shoot, and shout, "Now he is dead!"
On one occasion we chased a covey of herons downstream for about
two hours for amusement. The birds followed the river course, flying
some 100 yards before settling on a branch. Striking paddles against
the canoe and beating an empty gasoline tin, we drove the birds to
the communities. The Indians shouted, "We sent you herons, why
didn't you shoot them?"

501 The most important canoe positions are those of stroke and of
462 steersman. A woman traveling with men always steers, the lighter
work. She may even nurse her child while steering. Among boys,
each wants to be a steersman because it is easy. When the people are
in no hurry canoe positions are informally assigned; children then
occupy the stroke position, in a large canoe sitting side by side. They
also steer. On a long journey the prowsman or stroke is always the
strongest man, while a woman, or the oldest or weakest man, is at
the helm. Intermediate positions are filled by considerations of bal-
ance, each canoe known for its own balance characteristics.

502 All the Indians know the river and its currents. Downstream the
[823] canoe is piloted along the currents that sweep out from creeks, calling
for frequent crossovers; the center of the river is usually avoided be-
cause of the sun, the Indians preferring the shade of the shoreline.
Going upstream the canoe hugs the shore and in rapid currents the
men pull it along by seizing creepers. During low water, punting
poles replace paddles, and sometimes the riders get out and push.
High water offers cuts through the forest. I have timed these short
cuts against the regular passage downstream and found that there
is no actual saving. Threading through jungle lagoons in a large
canoe is time-consuming, but is less monotonous and tiring than the
direct passage. These passages lead often through dense brush that

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Economic Life

ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The Northwest Amazon region abuts on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera Oriental and has an average elevation of some 200-300 meters. Many of its rivers flow quickly and the terrain generally lacks the flat and swampy character of the lowland Amazonian rain forest. The headwaters of the Cuduiari are within the territory of the Cubeo and apparently arise in a high savannah, an eroded plateau laced with caverns and supporting on its remarkably flat surface only a meager xerophytic vegetation. There are other highlands in Cubeo territory along the Vaupés. Of no economic value to the Indians, the highlands form for them a setting of mystery because of their strangeness and their desert quality, and are held to be the domain of mythological beings. (823) •

The Cuduiari is a narrow river that runs swiftly past several cataracts into the Vaupés. At the peak of the dry season it is barely navigable along its full length. At that time a large canoe is pushed across several inches of water and the river course is beset with sandbanks. The smaller tributaries or *caños* dry up altogether, stranding their low-status occupants seriously. Perhaps this is one reason why the Cubeo associate social standing with frontage along a big river. (361) The Cuduiari is an intimate river — along much of its length the trees and creepers that line its banks reach overhead to midstream to form a bower. The opposite shore is close at hand and the entire (554)

764 It with a wad and turned to face the corpse. Each man now went with the same slow deliberateness to fetch his gun. The armed men formed a tight circle about the hammock, the widow in their midst pressed against it. Brandishing the weapon, the brother began the funeral declamation, a statement of grief and then anger and the threat of retaliation against the enemy. Each male mourner delivered his own address, always declaring his kinship relationship to the old man. The women accompanied the hoarse shouts of masculine anger with their own counterpoint of grief. After the last man had spoken they all fired their guns into the air together. The widow then withdrew to her hammock and lay silently while the men gathered about the hammock, caressed the corpse, and wept, accompanied in their grief by the women.

[531] When this first wave of mourning, which lasted some two hours, had subsided, the headman's wife arrived, took her place at the head of the hammock, and delivered a long funeral oration that began in anger and ended in tears. As she finished it seemed that the

[761] grief had subsided; people stirred about more. Informally, and apparently spontaneously, the inquest began; names were mentioned and evidence cited. Women added their observations to those of the men, each citation being delivered in a loud and angry voice.

[622] The headman broke in on this, an hour after his wife had finished speaking. Armed with a gun he, too, approached the head of the

[531] hammock and delivered his funeral oration, concluding like the others with grief. During the angry part of his oration he summarized the suspicions and submitted his own. When the headman concluded, all the mourners drifted off and, since it was the middle of the night, all went to sleep. The respite was brief, and well before dawn mourning began again; mourners, men and women, approached the corpse (*yaiyá*) in the hammock, caressed it, and wept.

• [823] Preparations for burial began promptly at sunrise. Four men of the sib dug the grave (*tobékatrino*: hole underneath) four feet deep in an east-west direction to the left of the dance floor at the forward end of the house. They measured the corpse to get dimensions of the grave. When the grave had been dug halfway down one of the men lighted a cigarette and, bending over the sides but not entering the grave itself, blew cigarette smoke into each of its four corners, "so that the dead would always have tobacco."

[412] It took several hours to dig out the grave with machetes. While this was being done, others were preparing a canoe as the old man's coffin. A man is buried in his own canoe as a rule. However, the canoe of João was an excellent one, whereas one of the men had only re-

when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends.

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórú* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórú* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river.

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather head-dresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated

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of teaching people useful things. In the Cubeo allocation of moderate powers among men and supernatural beings, men get their fair share, so to speak.

The native term for power is *parid*, a term that applies to the strength and vigor of a warrior, the magical potency of the ancestor flutes and trumpets, the awesome fierceness of the jaguar, as well as to the clearly magical powers of the shaman or of the layman who has learned how to cure and to practice sorcery. The term simply means "able" and is the verb in the common expression "I can do it."

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Thus, the distinction we might draw between natural and supernatural powers is not one that is recognized by the Cubeo.

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The shaman is the principal holder of *parid*. He may be known as *paridkoku* (man of power) or as *yavi* (jaguar). By either term the Cubeo conjure up the image of power. As *paridkoku* it is power in a neutral sense; as *yavi* it is power in the aspect of dread. Every *yavi* is a *paridkoku* but not every *paridkoku* is a *yavi*. The *yavi* is the supreme shaman, the one who can take the form of a jaguar, who consorts with jaguars, who maintains the jaguar as a dog. The *paridkoku* is one who has learned how to cure as well as to kill but, not being a jaguar, is a second-class practitioner. Every sib has its *paridkoku*, but *yavis* are scarce. To distinguish between the *yavi* and the *paridkoku*, the Cubeo say of the former *urina paridkoku*, *urina* meaning "big." It is because of this Cubeo usage that I have thought it advisable to discuss shamanism under the heading of "power."

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The power of the shaman is called *parikku*, a noun form with the connotation of a substance. When a shaman has accomplished an exceptional act it is his *parikku*, it is said, that enabled him to do it. The great shamans control the weather, for the most part unpleasantly. They bring storms, hail, fog, strong winds. They can lower the depths of a river as great as the Vaupés. When the river bottom of the smaller Cuduiari is exposed, however, the attribution is to natural causes. The play of the shaman with weather and the river level is only a demonstration of his power and has no sinister motive. Shamanistic power also includes the control of tutelary spirits. Generally, a shaman controls a number of insect spirits who do his bidding, in a minor capacity, however, as scouts and as messengers. A shaman on the Cuduiari once found a little girl who had blundered into the forest and become lost. He claimed he had sent an insect to look for her.

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Another demonstration of shamanistic power is in the battles the shamans wage against one another. A *yavi*, I was told, has a different